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ORIGINAL ARTICLE

How key transitions influence school and labour market careers of descendants of Moroccan and Turkish migrants in the Netherlands

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Abstract

Most educational research examines school outcomes at certain stages or at the final stage of the school career. This article looks at the entire school career and the transition to the labour market. It focuses on key transitions to identify the educational institutional arrangements that either help or hinder school and labour market success among the most disadvantaged groups in the Netherlands: young people of Moroccan and Turkish descent. The Dutch educational system is one of the most complicated school systems in Europe. Consequently, parents and children have to make many 'choices' when navigating it. Many of these key 'choice' moments are selection points, either because they are not real choices but dependent upon a teacher's recommendation or because parents and pupils need a great deal of information about the school system in order to make a choice. This usually results in inequalities for the most disadvantaged groups. Because selection is disguised as 'choices', the structural inequalities of the Dutch school system are not usually perceived as blocking mechanisms for disadvantaged students

1 | INTRODUCTION

This article focuses on the school and labour market careers of the Turkish and Moroccan second generation in the Netherlands. They are among the most disadvantaged in the Netherlands. I have chosen them because they

show most clearly how the Dutch educational system produces inequalities through education and the transition to the labour market. Both communities are almost equal in size and are mostly concentrated in the more disadvantaged neighbourhoods of the Netherlands' four large cities. In many of these, children of immigrants are the majority and in an increasing number of neighbourhoods children of Dutch descent are no longer the largest ethnic group. Both segregation and the socioeconomic circumstances influence their chances in education and the labour market. There are 389,000 people of Moroccan descent and about 400,000 of Turkish descent living in the Netherlands (SCP, 2016a). Both groups show high levels of early school leaving, relatively low levels of school success and high levels of unemployment. These outcomes can partly be explained by the socioeconomic situation of the first generation. First-generation men were recruited for low-level jobs and came from the poorest and least developed regions of Morocco and Turkey (Crul, 2000). The Moroccan men mainly came from the Rif area in Northern Morocco where education beyond primary school was still largely unavailable at the time. Many of the Turkish guest workers came from central Anatolia. The situation there was slightly better, which meant that a somewhat larger share of the Turkish first generation had attended primary school and some had also followed a few years of secondary education (Beets, ter Bekke, & Schoorl, 2008). These two labour migrant groups are comparatively more disadvantaged than the other three large immigrant groups in the Netherlands from the former Dutch colonies Indonesia, Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles. People from Indonesia, for a large part of mixed Dutch-Indonesian origin, are considered as a successful migrant group and are therefore not targeted in policies or research. The two other groups, however, have been the subject of policies and research for the last four decades. The fact that pupils in Surinam and the Antilles followed the Dutch curriculum, taught in Dutch, has helped their integration in the Netherlands. The parents of the second generation of Antillean descent often came to study and stayed on. Recent Antillean migrants mostly come from the lower segments of the island population and the younger cohorts of Antillean descent therefore show more negative outcomes. Hence, this group has been receiving more attention in the last decade, both in research and in policies.

I will primarily use the research reports of the Social Cultural Planning Bureau (SCP) in this article because they provide detailed overviews of the school and labour market position of the two groups on which I focus. I will also use research from scholars who are experts either on education or on the labour market in the Netherlands. Much of this research, like the SCP reports, was commissioned by the Dutch government because of political concerns about the disadvantaged position of these two groups. Lastly, I will use the data I collected in the TIES survey on the Turkish and Moroccan second generation in the Netherlands.

2 | KEY TRANSITION POINTS IN SCHOOL CAREERS

2.1 | The Dutch educational system

The Dutch school system is one of the most complicated in Europe (EP & Nuffic, 2015). It is also characterised by the freedom to choose a school according to one's religious or ideological preference. Schools all teach the same curriculum and fees are very low or non-existent.

Pupils enter primary school in the Netherlands when they turn 4. Primary school consists of eight grades. On average, pupils leave it at the age of 12 when it is decided which track they will follow in secondary school. During the last two years, they take national examinations that are crucial for their recommendation for the level to be attended in secondary school. Based on their test results and their teacher's recommendation or 'advice', they are assigned to one of the various tracks in the secondary school system.

Secondary schools offer six tracks: two prepare for higher education, whilst four prepare for different levels of senior vocational education. The two pre-academic tracks, Havo (five years) and Vwo (six years) prepare for a university of applied sciences (Hbo) or a research university (University), respectively. All four vocational tracks last for four years, but involve different cognitive and skill levels. *Praktijk onderwijs*, the lowest level, caters to

pupils with severe learning and/or behavioural problems. Many pupils in this track receive special assistance. *Vmbo-basis* also represents a low level of vocational education. Both levels only give access to a two-year Mbo-2 level of senior vocational education at the age of 16 which prepares for unskilled labour and is considered the very minimum level to enter the labour market (*startkwalificatie*). *Vmbo-kader* and *Vmbo-theoretisch* are somewhat more prestigious and prepare for middle-level senior vocational tracks: Mbo-3 (three years) and Mbo-4 (four years). After completing Mbo-4, students can study at Hbo or higher vocational training. An important characteristic of the Dutch school system is that it is relatively easy for pupils to move on to a higher track (Cedefop, 2016). They can start at Vmbo and progress to university by passing through Mbo and Hbo and taking what is known as the 'long route' through the education system. Although this takes up to 3 years longer, it is how many children of immigrants have moved up the educational ladder.

2.2 | School outcomes of the 2nd generation

Every other year, the National Social Cultural Planning Bureau (SCP) publishes an update of school and labour market outcomes for those of Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean descent (SCP, 2014a, 2016a). Important additional information is provided by other SCP reports, such as reports addressing the pace of social and economic emancipation of migrant women, or separate reports on labour market outcomes (CBS/SCP, 2016; SCP, 2014b). These usually distinguish between the first and second generation (definition of the second generation: a person born in the Netherlands with one or both parents born abroad) and between men and women. They compare these outcomes with those of pupils of Dutch descent (defined as those born in the Netherlands with both parents born in the Netherlands). School outcomes documented by SCP show a rather consistent picture for the four large migrant groups that are the focus of policies and research. As we can see in Table 1, the school outcomes for the Turkish and Moroccan second generation are very similar and the same is true for children whose parents came from the two former Dutch colonies. The latter two groups have lower rates of early school leaving and are more often found in higher education.

The relatively good educational results for the Antillean second generation can be largely explained by the much better socioeconomic position of their parents (the first generation). Two-thirds of the first-generation Antillean parents hold a senior vocational or tertiary diploma. Many early Antillean migrants came to the Netherlands to study (van Niekerk, 2004) as there are no universities on the Dutch Antilles Islands. Hence, the first wave of migrants was an élite migration. However, since the 1990 s, migration has become more diverse and representative of the general population of these islands. The children of the more socio-economically diverse group are now starting to appear in migration statistics as the younger cohort of the second generation of Antilleans. Surinamese migration has always been more representative of the general population. Language is an important factor for both groups. Although many migrants from Surinam and the Antilles speak another local language at home, they also speak Dutch. Most of the first generation were taught in Dutch which gave them a huge advantage over the Turkish and Moroccan first generation. So, although there are substantial differences in outcome between the two subgroups (labour migrants versus former colonies), both class and language help to explain these differences.

The most striking feature of the outcome of both the Turkish and the Moroccan second generation is the polarisation within these groups. In the Turkish second generation, 27% are in higher education, whilst an almost

TABLE 1 Education level of the second generation aged between 15 and 65 in the Netherlands

	Only primary school	Lower vocational education	Senior Vocational education	Tertiary education
Turkish	9%	19%	45%	27%
Moroccan	5%	19%	46%	30%
Surinamese	5%	13%	46%	36%
Antillean	3%	12%	45%	41%

Source. CBS/SCP (SIM survey 2015).

TABLE 2A Turkish second-generation respondents between the ages of 18 and 35 in Amsterdam and Rotterdam: pre-school attendance and tracking into a pre-academic track

	Vocational	Pre-academic track
Pre-school	68%	32%
No pre-school	78%	22%

Source. TIES survey 2008.

TABLE 2B Moroccan second-generation respondents between the ages of 18 and 35 in Amsterdam and Rotterdam: pre-school attendance and tracking into a pre-academic track

	Vocational	Pre-academic track
Pre-school	78%	22%
No pre-school	72%	28%

Source. TIES survey 2008.

TABLE 3A Unemployment of early school leavers according to ethnic origin

	Turkish 2nd generation	Moroccan 2nd generation	Surinamese 2nd generation	Antillean 2nd generation	Dutch
Unemployment	31%	54%	28%	41%	18%

Source. SIS 2010-2012 and VSNU WO monitor 2009-2011.

TABLE 3B Unemployment among people with a senior vocational educational diploma according to ethnic origin

	Turkish 2nd generation	Moroccan 2nd generation	Surinamese 2nd generation	Antillean 2nd generation	Dutch
Unemployment	20%	26%	17%	28%	5%

Source. SIS 2010-2012 and VSNU WO monitor 2009-2011.

TABLE 3C Unemployment among people with a bachelor or master degree according to ethnic origin

	Turkish 2nd generation	Moroccan 2nd generation	Surinamese 2nd generation	Antillean 2nd generation	Dutch
HBO (bachelor)	14%	17%	13%	10%	6%
University (master)	13%	8%	6%	8%	5%

Source. SIS 2010-2012 and VSNU WO monitor 2009-2011.

equal percentage (28%) has no more than a lower vocational education diploma, which officially makes them early school leavers. The first group has made a huge upward mobility leap compared to their parents, whilst the latter has more or less reproduced the low status of the first generation. We see a similar trend among the Moroccan second generation. The polarised outcome for this group is even more striking because Moroccan parents are

almost all very low-educated. We will show that this polarisation can largely be explained by choice and support processes at different points in the educational trajectory.

The 2016 SCP integration report (SCP, 2016a) from which these figures stem does not give school outcomes for men and women separately, but the CBS/SCP report on social and economic emancipation of migrant women (2016) does provide information on gender differences at different school levels. The results show how second-generation Moroccan and Turkish women have overtaken men in almost all higher-level tracks. The turning point at which they overtook men came slightly earlier for those of Moroccan descent than for those of Turkish descent This is usually attributed to there being more social control in the Turkish community, which initially resulted in pressure on young girls to marry early, often causing them to leave school (Crul, 2000, 2010 ; Crul & Doomernik, 2003; De Vries, 1987; Lindo, 1996). At present, we are witnessing the opposite: more younger men drop out of school than young women (CBS/SCP, 2016). The educational success of girls has important consequences for mobility. This trend of women doing better in education is partly the result of the experiences of the older cohort of in-between and second generation women. For some, marrying young did not work out well. Because of their lack of schooling, they were unable to find employment and support themselves. Their experiences made people in these communities aware that education was also important for women. Secondly, the smaller group of women in the older cohorts that continued to study proved that they could be successful at school whilst retaining their respectability. These women became role models for younger women. As a result, we can see that opinions on the importance of education for women have gradually changed (Crul, 2010).

The differences in school outcomes for the four largest ethnic groups compared to those of Dutch descent can partly be explained by the age, gender or educational level of their parents: when corrected for the age, gender or educational level of the parents, half of the gap remains for the Turkish second generation and only a quarter for the Moroccan second generation. Over a ten-year period, the gap has been reduced by two-thirds for the Turkish second generation and by five-sixth for the Moroccan second generation.

2.3 | The educational trajectory

The figures from the 2016 SCP report only show final school outcomes. By focusing on entire school careers from pre-school onwards, the following paragraphs will show how these final results have been reached. In earlier research on school careers of second generation Turkish and Moroccan students, I developed the so-called integration context theory. Crucial in this theory is how institutional arrangements in education interact with the agency of both parents and children. Based on an international comparison (Crul & Schneider, 2010; Crul, Schneider, & Lelie, 2012), the explanation of success or failure in school for Turkish and Moroccan second generation students in the Netherlands heavily relied on mechanisms around the key transition points in which children are selected for different tracks and schools. The many choice and selection mechanisms in the Dutch school system were prominent when comparing different school systems and what they ask from parents and children to be successful in school.T

2.3.1 | Pre-school

Pre-school arrangements in the Netherlands are designed in such a way that some elements result in growing inequalities, whilst others aim to reduce them. Many children of low-educated migrants enter pre-school with a considerable disadvantage in Dutch as a second language. VVE (*Voor- en vroegschoolse educatie*) policies have been developed from 2000 onwards in order to reduce these deficits. They are especially aimed at children of immigrants from disadvantaged families (Driessen, 2012; Inspectie van het Onderwijs, 2010; Jepma, Kooiman, & van der Vegt, 2007; Tuijl & Siebes, 2006; Veen, Roeleveld, & Leseman, 2000; Veen, van der Veen, & Driessen, 2012). Every Dutch government in the last two decades has laid emphasis on second language learning at a young age

(Onderwijsraad, 2014). It is often portrayed as the solution to closing the educational gap. However, arrangements for pre-school in the Netherlands make it difficult to deliver on this aim since pre-school is not compulsory. As a result, parents must decide to send their children to pre-school and find available places on their own. Therefore, policy in the last decades has focused on raising the percentage of children of immigrants at VVE pre-school facilities. This has been largely successful, but a considerable group (about a quarter) of potential 'at risk' pupils has still not been reached (Veen et al., 2012).

A further and maybe more important impediment to closing the gap is the way in which pre-school is structured in the Netherlands. The general policy is that children of immigrants and disadvantaged families attend a *voorschool* three half days a week (between 10 to 12 hours in total). This means that, with a few exceptions, children of immigrants in the cities attend pre-school separately with no contact with children of Dutch descent whose first language is Dutch. Children of Dutch descent go to the crèche or to *peuterspeelzalen* for three to five full days a week (between 24 and 40 hours). This provision is paid partly by the parents and partly by their employers. Hence, it is out of reach for the most disadvantaged groups. So not only is *voorschool* segregated, which prevents contact with children whose first language is Dutch, it also usually provides fewer hours of instruction than regular pre-school facilities. Both these factors obstruct the aim of closing the language gap. 'Choice' is used to describe the differences in provisions. People 'choose' to send their children to *voorschool*, crèche or a *peuterspeelzaal*.

One argument for the separate provision of *voorschool* for children from disadvantaged families is that it pays a great deal of attention to second language learning using specialised methods (Leseman & Veen, 2016). There is, however, a fierce debate among scholars about its effects. In a blog in a national education magazine, Driessen states that other academics deny the fact that *voorschool* programmes have hardly any effect (Bruggers, Driessen, & Gesthuizen, 2014). Fukkink, Jilink, and Oostdam (2017), on the basis of a meta-analysis of cognitive outcomes (national language and math scores) and socio-emotional indicators, also conclude that these programmes are having little or no effect. Some reports, however, show that there are significant effects (Leseman & Veen, 2016; Tuijl & Siebes, 2006). An important caveat is that the effect is mostly calculated for pupils who attend *voorschool* (that have a more limited number of teaching hours) compared to pupils in regular pre-school facilities such as crèche or *peuterspeelzaal*. An exception is the study conducted by Tuijl and Siebes (2006) which followed pupils of Turkish and Moroccan descent participating in a *voorschool* programme called *Opstap* and compared them with children who did not follow this or any other pre-school programme. They found that *Opstap* pupils of Turkish descent repeated primary school classes 14% less often than members of the control group who had not taken part in the programme. For the pupils of Moroccan descent, the difference was 16%. The *Opstap* pupils also performed significantly better in test scores throughout primary school. In the TIES study (Crul & Heering, 2008) we could also compare second-generation Turkish and Moroccan respondents aged between 18 and 35 who had attended pre-school against those who had not. This group went to pre-school in a period when there were still no specific *voorschool* programmes aimed at children from disadvantaged families. So these data only provide information on whether attending regular *peuterspeelzalen* and the crèche had an effect.

For the Turkish second generation, we find a significant positive effect as a result of attending pre-school ($p < 0.05$). For the Moroccan second generation, however, there is no such effect (Tables 2a10002 and 2b20002).

Pre-school arrangements provide the first key decision point for parents, who must decide whether or not to send their children to pre-school. The way in which pre-school is organised now, segregating disadvantaged children and with fewer hours, makes it a largely ineffective method for closing the gap between these children and children from more privileged families.

2.3.2 | Primary school

Most children from low-educated migrant families start primary school with a large gap in Dutch language skills compared to those of Dutch descent. Segregation in primary school in large cities is considerable because of 'white' flight. For many years, the government has been providing extra funding to schools with many pupils from disadvantaged families through a weighing system in order to combat inequalities in education during the primary school period. Up until ten years ago, schools received about twice as much funding for a child with low-educated immigrant parents as for a child with middle or upper-class native Dutch parents. In 2007, this funding system was replaced by a weighing system based solely on parents' educational level (Claassen & Mulder, 2011). Schools with a large number of immigrant children still receive considerable extra funding because many immigrant parents are low-educated. How this extra money is spent is largely determined by these primary schools or by the larger school organisation to which they belong. Most schools use the money to hire extra teaching staff and reduce the number of pupils per class. Many schools with large numbers of immigrant children have invested in second language teaching. Although it is difficult to prove a direct relationship between interventions and results, school results generally show that the gap between immigrant children and middle and upper class children of Dutch descent has been reduced during the primary school period. Roeleveld, Driessen, Ledoux, Cuppen, and Meijer (2011) show that the language scores of Turkish Dutch pupils grew by 81 points between grade 4 and grade 8. This means that about a quarter of the gap was closed in these four years of primary school. The Moroccan Dutch pupils closed 20% of the language gap. With regard to the gap in maths scores, Turkish Dutch pupils closed a third of the gap and the Moroccan Dutch pupils about a quarter. The results show that, although interventions during primary school are effective, they are not enough to close the gap entirely.

2.3.3 | Selection and tracking into secondary school

Selection and tracking at the end of primary school are among the most important transition and decision points in the Dutch educational system. Unfortunately, some of the gains made during primary school are lost during this process. The school advice at the end of primary school, which is partly based on national tests (the Cito tests), is crucial for a pupil's opportunities after primary school. These tests rely heavily on Dutch language capabilities. Since the language gap is not entirely closed during primary school, this is an important issue when validating the national test score as a proper instrument for assessing pupil's cognitive skills (Driessen, 2012; Fettelaar, Mulder, & Driessen, 2014; Roeleveld et al., 2011). Dutch language skills therefore have an important impact on tracking. In grade 8, all pupils—and their parents—receive what is known as a 'school advice' that is based on the national Cito test scores and the teacher's recommendation. In practice, this 'advice' is more than a mere recommendation, as it has important consequences for the type of school to which a pupil can be admitted. The advice is an official document for secondary schools and is given during a parent-teacher meeting about the Cito test score and the pupil's general development and attitude over the years. This brings a subjective element into the advisory process at the end of primary school. Parents can try to secure admission to a higher track in secondary school than initially advised. The current advisory process and subsequent choice of and negotiation with secondary schools offer possibilities for middle and upper-class families to use their social and cultural capital in order to secure a better outcome in a way that is beyond the reach of most working class and immigrant families. Middle and upper class parents often put huge pressure on teachers to turn an advice for vocational education into an advice for academic education even if test scores show otherwise. Teachers often bow to this pressure and change their advice (Inspective van het Onderwijs, 2016).

Another gate keeper is present at the end of secondary schools. Secondary schools have become more selective over time because state funding and the ranking of schools have been made more dependent on whether children repeat classes and whether they pass the exams. This is again especially crucial for pupils who have received an advice for a mid-level track (Vmbo-t) but who still want to access a school with an academic track. Parents who

know the schools that would still offer their child a chance or who can convince the school to take a chance with their child have an advantage over those who are not able to do so. Inequalities are often produced by granting opportunities for some people, whilst refusing them for others. In addition, secondary schools offer different opportunities for children to stream up to an academic level. Some only cater for pupils at this middle level, some cater for all levels and yet others only cater for the highest levels. At schools that have all levels it is often easy for pupils to stream up from a vocational to an academic track, especially if the school has intermediary classes that give pupils the opportunity to switch to a higher track in the first or second year. Naturally, this is more difficult for pupils attending a school that only offers the mid-level track. So not only must parents know about tracking decisions; they must also be aware of what schools can offer in terms of upstream possibilities. Low-educated migrant parents are usually less aware that a choice for a certain school will restrict upstreaming possibilities. Hence, parental 'choices' may seriously restrict their children's options.

The clearest evidence for the resulting inequalities of the advisory and school choice processes is provided in a report issued by the *Inspectie* van het Onderwijs (2016) in which the educational trajectories of children who had obtained the same mid-level Cito test scores were followed throughout and beyond secondary school. It shows that half the children with highly-educated parents started in a pre-academic track at secondary school. These parents had obtained a place for their children in a track above the level indicated by their test scores. Only a quarter of the children with low-educated parents managed this. Further down the road, 55% of the children with highly-educated parents had obtained a tertiary education diploma, whilst this was true of only 26% of the children with low-educated parents. These figures show the extent to which school success differs for pupils who had the same test results at the end of primary school. Having detailed knowledge of the school system and tracking options at secondary school level and being able to convince school teachers and principals make a great deal of difference. Middle and upper class parents are able to secure substantial gains. What is essentially an advisory and choice process is actually a selection process that is largely based on the parents' cultural and social capital.

In the Netherlands, there is a sharp divide at the end of primary school between pupils who receive the advice to follow a pre-academic track and those who are advised to follow a vocational track. A typical feature of the Dutch educational system is that children of low-educated migrant parents who score at the middle level are usually directed to vocational tracks or schools. This is important because it explains part of the polarisation in the second generation between the group that can gain direct access to higher education and the group that can only gain access through a much longer route involving vocational education. As explained above, the advisory and school choice process is highly dependent upon parental support and insistence on getting their child placed in a pre-academic track. In that sense, selection into a track often depends more on parental support than on the child's cognitive abilities.

2.3.4 | The long route to higher education

A special feature of the Dutch school system is that you can climb the educational ladder by using different levels of vocational education as stepping stones. You can start at a vocational level track at age 12, but, in principle, you can move from that track to senior vocational education and on to higher vocational education to obtain a bachelor's degree. Of course, this is anything but easy and requires a great deal of stamina, as it takes three years longer than the direct route from the pre-academic track (Havo) to higher vocational education (Hbo). Just over half of the Turkish and Moroccan second-generation respondents in the TIES survey attending universities of applied sciences had taken this 'long route' (Crul et al., 2012), proving that this is a crucial success factor of the Dutch educational system for children of immigrants. The long route repairs much of the damage that early selection and the school advice process inflict on children of immigrants and/or low-educated parents. The long route also entails important decision moments. First of all, the upper part (years 3 and 4) of senior vocational education is no longer part of compulsory education. Parents and children must decide at this point whether to continue learning or enter the labour market. This is a different decision for people living in low-income households. Secondly,

there is another decision point at around the age of 20, when young people must decide whether or not to embark upon another higher vocational track for four more years to obtain a bachelor degree. Senior vocational education does not only provide a route upwards, but also comes with considerable risks of dropping out. Drop-out rates are extremely high in the one-year tracks (Bol variant 28% and BBL variant 33%) and in the two-year tracks of senior vocational education (8%) (Rijksoverheid DUO, 2017). Since senior vocational education is not compulsory, absentees are monitored much less strictly and schools have few instruments for enforcing attendance. If students drop out, they officially become early school leavers, as they only have a lower secondary education diploma.

The polarisation we found in Table 1 on school outcomes can be largely explained by what happens to pupils in senior vocational education. Three-quarters of the Turkish and Moroccan second generation end up in senior vocational education. Those who obtain their 4 year diploma in senior vocational education can move on to higher vocational education and obtain a bachelor degree, thereby joining the success group. However, those who drop out of senior vocational education only have a lower vocational secondary education diploma and are therefore early school leavers. Hence, there is sometimes a very thin line between success and failure. It is not only a young person's cognitive capacities that determine success or failure at this point, but also their determination and the pull of the labour market.

The special arrangements for pre-school, early selection, the school advice process and the permeability of the school system (the long route) are the main characteristics that impact the school outcomes of children of low-educated immigrant parents in the Netherlands. All these key moments require parents and children to make choices, whereby parents with less information and social capital are put at a disadvantage.

3 | LABOUR MARKET OUTCOMES OF THE SECOND GENERATION

A major next transition is that of school to work. This includes the choice to enter the labour market, the chances to find employment and the chances to find work according to the highest educational level attained. All these steps make us aware of how far some of the gains through education also translate into the labour market and income position. This can potentially work both ways. People can find better employment than expected based on their educational level, but we could also see ethnic penalties for migrant groups in the labour market. Overall, the last outcome seems to prevail.

3.1 | The transition from school to the labour market

How do the educational credentials of the Turkish and Moroccan second generation translate to the labour market? Do they obtain the same return from their educational credentials in the transition to the labour market? We will present the labour market outcomes for early school leavers, those with a senior vocational diploma and those with a higher education diploma. We will once more use information from the SCP reports which provide information on the labour market situation of the second generation following the financial crisis (Meng, Verhagen, & Hijgen, 2013).

The level of educational credentials makes a huge difference to how successfully the second generation can make a smooth transition to the labour market. In the Moroccan second generation, 54% of the early school leavers are unemployed. This percentage is 31% among the early school leavers in the Turkish second generation. It is, however, interesting that the situation of early school leavers of Dutch descent is much less alarming, with only 18% being unemployed. It shows that the transition for young people with a migrant background who failed to pass the early school leaving threshold (upper secondary diploma or equivalent) is creating extra risks for entering the labour market. It is as if they carry a double stigma (Table 3a20003).

Second-generation Turkish and Moroccan young adults in possession of a senior vocational diploma (Mbo) show much lower unemployment rates than the early school leavers, but even then between one in five (Turkish)

and one in four (Moroccan) are unemployed. If we compare this with the early school leavers, we see that an early school leaver of Dutch descent is less likely to be unemployed than a second-generation youngster with a senior vocational diploma (Table 3b30003).

If we compare the students with a senior vocational education diploma, unemployment among the Moroccan second generation is five times higher than that of their peers of Dutch descent with the same diploma (Meng et al., 2013). Part of the difference can be attributed to the type of senior vocational educational diploma (Mbo 3 or 4), but the report indicates, without giving further details, that no explanation has been found for the largest part of this gap. Many young people with a senior vocational diploma find their first job through an apprenticeship. When asked about problems in finding an apprenticeship, 22% of the Moroccan second-generation respondents mentioned problems, compared to 15% of their peers of Dutch descent. The Turkish second generation does slightly better at 19% (idem.). It seems that difficulties in finding an apprenticeship may play a role in explaining unemployment differences at a later stage.

If we look at those with a bachelor's or a master's degree, the unemployment situation generally looks much better for them than for the two lower-educated groups. But there are also large gaps between this group and their peers of Dutch descent. Members of the Moroccan second generation with a bachelor diploma are equally at risk of being unemployed as an early school leaver (Table 3c40003).

The usual individual characteristics that explain gaps do not apply in this instance, as the groups of recent graduates with a bachelor or a master degree are very similar in terms of age and experience. This only leaves sector differences, networks, the way in which one searches for a job and discrimination as the most important explaining factors. Sectoral differences should give the second generation a *better* position because they are overrepresented in prospering sectors, such as business, law, medicine and IT.

In 2014, Andriessen. Ferhee, and Wittebrood (2014) carried out a large-scale research project on discrimination in different societal contexts, one being the labour market. People were selected from a sample of national register data based on which people could be identified according to their ethnic background. The response rate of 26% was rather low. Of the respondents of Moroccan descent, 41% mentioned an experience of discrimination when looking for work, whilst this figure was 35% for those of Turkish descent. When looking for an internship, the reported experiences of discrimination are relatively high, at 24% and 29%, respectively, for people of Moroccan and Turkish descent. Just over one in three people in both groups reported instances of discrimination in the workplace. In all three of the contexts mentioned above, people of Surinamese and Antillean descent mentioned fewer experiences of discrimination. The report raised a considerable public and political debate in the Netherlands about the existence of racism and discrimination in the labour market.

Andriessen, van der Ent, van der Linden, and Dekker (2015) carried out a follow-up study in the region of The Hague in 2015. They worked with correspondence tests in which applicants with the same CV but different names applied for the same job openings with the same employers. The researchers sent 504 applications for mid and low-level jobs. The names used were typical Dutch, Moroccan or Hindustani Surinamese. The applicants with a Dutch name were invited almost twice (1.8) as often for an interview as those with a Moroccan name.

3.2 | Gender differences in labour market outcomes

The SCP's 2013 integration report contains a separate chapter on migrant women in the labour market (Van der Vliet, Gijsberts, & Dagevos, 2013). Here, the authors look at women aged 20 to 50 and focus on life events that occurred between 2007 and 2010. The report shows that 70% of the women of Turkish descent and 75% of the women of Moroccan descent were working. This is 10% to 15% less than in the group of women of Dutch descent. It does not give separate figures for the second generation. The report also gives figures for women who leave paid employment after their first child. Here, we do have separate figures for the second generation. The maternity leave in the Netherlands is one of the most conservative in Europe. Women have 3 months of maternity leave and men 3 days. About a quarter of Turkish and Moroccan second-generation women leave paid employment

following the birth of their first child. That is two and a half times more than women of Dutch descent (10%). An important explanation for this is how child care is arranged in the Netherlands. Working parents pay a substantial financial contribution to child care. The tipping point when the cost for child care becomes higher than the family's second income is easily reached, especially for those in low-wage jobs. For women with high-paying jobs, the balance is much more positive. In fact, this policy discourages women with low-level jobs from staying in the labour market. These 'choices' create an important difference in family incomes. A great deal of the income difference between households depends on whether the woman is also in paid employment. This often determines whether or not people are able to enter the middle class.

Mothers of the first generation often gave up work when they had children and did not return to the labour market. This was always one of the major differences with women of Dutch descent. Re-entering was considered when their first child was over four (the age children enter full-day primary school). In the second generation, the group of women who re-enter the labour market is much larger: 38% among the Turkish second generation and 32% among the Moroccan second generation. For the Turkish second generation, this figure is only a fraction lower than for women of Dutch descent who return to work (40%) (Van der Vliet et al., 2013).

4 | CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Looking at the entire Dutch educational and labour market pipeline reveals how, from the very beginning, inequalities are built into the system that benefit children from families that possess large amounts of social, cultural and economic capital. These inequalities are often disguised as personal 'choices' rather than as a structural part of the Dutch school system, starting as early as pre-school. This choice also depends on whether there are places available in the neighbourhood. Similar, highly consequential choices must be made around the end of primary school. As this article has shown, parents can influence the advice that their children receive from their primary school regarding the type of secondary education that is considered suitable for them. Children have different opportunities, depending on whether their parents are willing and able to influence the teacher's advice. Some secondary schools still give pupils the opportunity to move up to pre-academic tracks after one or two-year intermediary classes, whilst other schools do not. Children's chances may be severely restricted if their parents are not sufficiently aware of these differences. School 'choice' is of key importance in the Dutch system because of early tracking at the age of 12. This leads to many pupils of migrant descent being streamed into vocational tracks merely because of their Dutch language deficiencies at that age. This forces many young people into the long route through senior vocational education. Since this route takes three years longer, youngsters must make deliberate choices to stay in education and pursue a higher education diploma. This requires great personal determination and family support and also entails financial consequences, as these young people not only have to postpone paid work, but must also take out a student loan.

The transition to the labour market generally entails high risks for young people of Moroccan or Turkish descent. Unemployment is much higher than for people of Dutch descent with the same educational credentials. This makes the transition to the labour market another key transition point in the careers of children of immigrants. Returns of educational credentials do not seem to be equal for all groups. Inequalities persist in the labour market with employers' selection and choice processes. More and more research shows that discrimination by employers plays a significant role. We also see lower levels of labour market participation among women. The cost of day care plays an important role, especially for women applying for low-level jobs.

Another key outcome of this article is the polarisation in the second generation. The polarised outcomes can largely be explained by what happens as a result of choice processes in the educational pipeline. When we take a closer look at labour market returns for these polarised groups, we see that second-generation Turkish and Moroccan early school leavers are especially vulnerable. Early school leavers of Dutch descent are also vulnerable, but being of Turkish or Moroccan descent seems to add an extra penality. The highly-educated have a much

better chance of employment and differences between ethnic groups are smaller. The polarisation in education outcomes is as a result magnified further in the labour market.

Dutch educational policies are usually designed by policy makers and politicians without taking specific effects of certain groups into account. As is shown in this article, general policies often have different effects for different ethnic and socio-economic groups. It would be an important policy innovation if changes in general policies would consider their effects for different groups before being implemented. The article also shows that the emphasis on 'choice' which has been an important trend across Europe, beginning with the 'choice' of pre-school to 'choices' to select secondary schools and to continue education are often not choices and often lead to further inequalities.

This article was built on the integration context theory to identify important institutional arrangements in school and the labour market. These national institutional arrangements, such as how pre-school is arranged and how the selection and advising process are organised have important consequences for the chances of children of immigrants. In an earlier use of the integration context theory we demonstrated the importance of these institutional arrangement by comparing the same ethnic group across countries. In a single context, however, I have now demonstrated the importance of the theory by comparing the effect of the school context for different ethnic groups. This has clearly shown that the same institutional arrangements work out differently for different ethnic groups.

Furthermore, we tried to explain the polarisation within ethnic groups. Earlier, we developed the concept of *the multiplier effect* to explain this phenomenon (Crul et al., 2017). We showed how small differences at the beginning of the school career between children of immigrants were multiplied over time. This effect is most clearly visible for girls. If they are successful at school and able to enter a pre-academic track this affects their further school and other life course events. Success at school allows them to postpone marriage and continue studying. If they can postpone marriage until after they complete higher education, they are also old enough to make their own choices regarding a marriage partner, who is then more likely to have been born or raised in the Netherlands and more highly-educated. This often means a clear break with traditional gender roles and entrance into the labour market, resulting in a two-income household. With each successful step, they move further away from their less successful female peers. A girl who drops out of senior vocational education is more often pressed into marrying young, often to a partner who is also low-educated and more likely to be a recent migrant from Turkey or Morocco. Her youth and low level of education make it more unlikely that she will enter the labour market. For those who can only apply for low-level jobs, the cost of childcare is almost equal to their wage. In these households, we see a continuation of traditional gender patterns with only one income from paid employment. Differences early on in one's school career can therefore lead to large and far-reaching differences over time.

The multiplier effect also explains how school success is still possible, even if parents do not have the cultural and social capital needed to be successful in school. Parents often play an important role at the beginning of a child's school career, especially during primary school, when they can promote the importance of schooling. Other people, such as teachers and other successful peers, gradually become more important (Crul, 2000; Crul et al., 2017). Many people describe the extra support and attention they received from a teacher when telling of how they were the exception to the rule as a successful immigrant pupil in a pre-academic track. Entrance to a pre-academic track also brings these pupils into contact with peers of Dutch descent from a middle class milieu. This also offers them access to new cultural and social capital. Once in university, they often gain social capital through their fellow students, which can help them to access networks that are useful in the labour market. Each successful consecutive step offers them new opportunities that make the next step possible. Rather than having cultural and social capital from the very start, as is the case for middle and upper class children, they acquire these forms of capital along the way. This offers an important explanation of how it is possible to be successful at school or in the labour market even if your family does not have the cultural and social capital needed for educational success. It is an important correction of existing reproduction theories which state that success is only possible if your family has the right forms of capital.

The idea of the multiplier effect adds to the integration context theory by showing how the agency by families and youngsters themselves interacts with institutional arrangements. Family investments in education early on result in entrance to more favourable and supportive institutional arrangements over time. As a result of better school performances in primary school than their peers they are streamed in better quality secondary schools and can avoid segregated vocational schools. But parents who support their children on the long route through vocational education also make use of a typical Dutch institutional arrangement to help their children to reach higher education.

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